THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 37 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th, 1917 Price One Penny

ABOUT POLITICAL ACTION: By W. N. Ewer

That old wearisome controversy of industrial versus political action is beginning once more to make some little noise in the world of Labour. With the Labour Party reconstructing itself, and preparing a new programme and a "Big Push," it is only natural and right that the disbelievers in political action should again become vocal, uttering warnings to Labour that this Parliamentarism is all vanity, leading nowhither. And simultaneously the Political Actionists—rather under a cloud these last five or six years—have taken new heart and are expecting big things.

Now, of course, at bottom, one's views on political action and industrial action are quite inevitably conditioned by the ends for which one is working. Your reformist believes rather mildly in both—believes, as it were, in political inertia, supplemented by industrial inertia. But your revolutionary groups divide pretty definitely into three types.

The Collectivist, thinking of national ownership and control as the goal, naturally looks towards political action. Industrial action has little to do with his final objective, and tends to appear to him as abortive and rather wasteful of energy: while he is apt to regard trade unions as primarily—or most importantly—political associations.

Conversely, the Syndicalist or Industrial Unionist, who gives the State no place at all in his final scheme of things, but envisages a society performing all its functions through industrial organisations, naturally comes to condemn political activity as a means as well as an end—and would reach his purely industrial Utopia by a purely industrial revolution.

Between them stands the Guildsman, looking forward to a society which will function through both industrial and political organs—working for democratic guilds in conjunction with a democratic State, and so inclining naturally to favour both political and industrial action, each in its own proper sphere.

And I suppose that really it is because I am a Guildsman that I do quite unrepentantly believe in political action. It is because I believe in the separation of functions, and that the jumbling of functions leads to inefficiency and unfreedom, that I want the industrial strength of Labour left free for industrial uses, and that I want it to develop and use political machinery for political purposes.

But, say my Industrial Unionist friends, there are no political purposes that concern Labour. Politics is a vile business: the State is a capitalist instrument; let the beastly thing alone.

Now, with these premises I, on the whole, cordially agree. Politics—capitalist politics—*is* a dirty business. The State *is* the instrument of our masters—and a devilishly dangerous instrument, too. And that, for me, is precisely one of the most cogent of reasons for *not* letting it alone. It is entirely necessary that we should get it out of their hands, and so, at the least, make it impotent for harm. We must capture the State, were it only that we might destroy it.

And, indeed, destroy it, in one sense, we must. For the State machine, as it exists to-day, is a machine devised for the purposes of oligarchy, and so entirely useless for democracy. It would be as sensible to try to fly with a steam roller as to try to do the work of revolutionary Labour with the machinery of Conservative capitalism. And the very first task of Labour politics must be political revolution.

To expand and expound that would, however, take me far beyond the possibilities of this article. And I will only say that it is largely the failure to realise this, largely the endeavour to do new work with the old machine, that is responsible for the failure of the Labour Party in the past.

I have said "failure"; but perhaps it would be truer to say that the Labour Party has not failed: that it has carried out, at any rate in some measure, the task it set itself. And our real quarrel with it is not that it failed to achieve, but that it never endeavoured; not that it was unsuccessful in revolution, but that it was not, and never aspired to be, revolutionary at all.

And that, of course, is the second condition of useful political activity—that it be definitely and consistently revolutionary in aim. The Labour Party, if it is to have any justification at all for its existence, must have—not as an expression of pious opinion, but as a real and immediate objective, a definitely revolutionary programme.

And that leads me to the last thing I have to say to any of the Left who are hesitating on this issue of political action. The Labour Party machinery and the Labour Party programme are both under reconstruction. If the Left declines in large measure to take a hand, both the new machine and the new programme will be designed by the Right—will be reformist and not revolutionary, and Labour will be led back into the Liberal wilderness for another decade. If we are wise, we shall not, at this of all moments, eschew politics, abandon the field to the reformists, and then complain of the futility of political action.

Only—if we are to do anything effective, we ought first of all to be pretty clear in our minds as to what we want to do. We have got to think out our programme in order to get it, as far as may be, accepted by the party.

But that task, as I remarked before, lies quite beyond the frontiers of this article.

Of Special Interest This Week

Peace on the Horizon

How to Bring Down the Milk Price

A REPLY TO CLEM EDWARDS

By a Miner's Wife

Dear Editor,—Some weeks ago a contribution from "A Docker's Wife" appeared in the DREADNOUGHT, describing the economic conditions of Dockland. Its value to the readers of the DREADNOUGHT living in South Wales lay in the fact that it conveyed to us the terrible struggle the unfortunate East End women have in their endeavours to maintain a standard of decency and comfort. Our hearts' sympathy goes out to them in their struggle, and prompted by the impression that a somewhat similar contribution, this time from "A South Wales Miner's Wife," would be of some little interest to our Dockland comrades, I forward for insertion in the DREADNOUGHT a few facts as to conditions as they really exist in the "Land of Boloism," where, according to Mr. Clem Edwards, M.P., the Welsh pacifist miner, apart from contributing from £15 to £40 per week to propagate pacifist ideas, is receiving on an average about £4 per week in wages. It is with the latter I desire to deal, leaving the scandalous libel on the Welsh miner in more competent hands. Now to the gross misrepresentation re the £4 per week wage. The miner who hews the coal is the best paid worker in the mines; his wage rate per day works out at a trifle less than 13s., or about £3 18s. for a week's work of six days. Out of this he has to pay his doctor and National Health Insurance, and hospital, and check weigher. All of these items are stopped at the pay office, and amount to about 4s. Mr. Clem Edwards's £4 is a diminishing quantity, is it not? But the stoppages or payments referred to are merely details; what reduces the miner's weekly wage to an almost negligible quantity is the fact that he is only able to work alternate days, and three days at 13s. per day makes a weekly wage of about £1 16s. after the stoppages before referred to have been deducted. This, mark you, refers to the best paid of the underground workers. Some others are very much worse off; for instance, there is the labouring man whose wage per day is about 9s., and who is subject to the same stoppages (apart from check) as is the better paid worker. In face of these facts, can you, by any stretch of imagination, conceive of any Taffy (who the song says is a thief) distributing money to the extent of £15 or £40, German or otherwise? I contend that any man who would do this would not only be a pacifist, but, like the man who made the statement, a fool. No, the fact is the miner's £4 per week exists only in the wild imagination of Mr. Clem Edwards. The bitter experiences of our sisters in Dockland is our experience. Perhaps we do not suffer quite to the same extent, but you may be quite sure that the standard of living in South Wales has been substantially reduced during the past three years. The remedy, in our opinion, is to bring the War to an end, and thus to a great extent remove the peculiar opportunities its presents for profiteers to exploit the miseries of the people.

S. J. HAYWARD.

THE "DREADNOUGHT"

The Christmas number of the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT will excel all previous issues. You will require an extra number of copies; order them as soon as possible.

The DREADNOUGHT Christmas number is better than a Christmas Card; send it to your friends instead of a Christmas Card this year. The Christmas number will contain a form conveying the season's greetings, with a space for inserting the name and address of the sender. If you can supply us with the names and addresses of those to whom you desire the DREADNOUGHT to be sent, we shall be pleased to put your name in the space and dispatch the DREADNOUGHT direct to your friends on receipt of the necessary payments for the paper and postage.

An annual subscription for the DREADNOUGHT makes a most acceptable Christmas Gift. Order it for your friends. Remember that this beautiful illustrated Christmas number cannot be produced without the aid of special donations, and send a subscription to the DREADNOUGHT Fund.

OUR CHRISTMAS DOUBLE NUMBER

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15th.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

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"Concerning the Referendum." By George Bernard Shaw.
"Human Suffrage." By Israel Zangwill.
"Montessori Method." By Muriel Matters.
"Views on Italy." By Signor Corio (correspondent of the "Avanti").
Other Articles by George Lansbury, Miles Malleson, E. Sylvia Pankhurst and others.
Poems by Eva Gore Booth, Regina Miriam Bloch and W. N. Ewer.
Illustrations by Hilda Jefferies, Herbert Cole and A. A. Woolfstein.

Of all Newsagents, or from the Manager, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

FROM THE TRENCHES

"Frequently I am where hundreds and hundreds of infantry pass, going to and from the trenches, and never the semblance of a smile on any face is to be seen. It is almost heartbreaking to witness them and to think that the War 'must go on on until ——' . . . . You may tell your last ditchers that it is their tribe which now gets the blame and has scornful odium cast upon it by us out here. Funny, isn't it, that more hatred and fury should be levelled against them by us than against those 'very wicked, wicked Huns'? . . . . .

"Things out here are indescribably awful. Hell is no name for it; day after day in misery and—yes, terror . . . . To think of the people in England clamouring for the continuance of such a nightmare, and cheering—as the papers tell as they do—when they are told that peace is still a long way off! May God forgive them, for we out here never shall! I noticed the casualty lists in two successive issues of the "Daily News": 'Dead, 822!' Dead, 1,020.' . . . .

"I read the Prime Minister's speech of the 4th in the Queen's Hall. He seems to ignore the terrible lists of casualties. . . . . ."

—Extracts from a soldier's letters.

WEST CENTRAL W.S.F. BRANCH.

AT HOME.

FABIAN HALL, 25 TOTHILL STREET, S.W., at Three p.m.

Speaker: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Invitation Cards from Mrs. and Miss Casey, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2.

Music.

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PEACE ON THE HORIZON.

Peace has at last become an immediate possibility! The Austrian Government has answered the Russian proposal for an armistice to negotiate a Peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies; it has declared its readiness to negotiate for an immediate armistice and general Peace, and expressed the view that: "The guiding lines announced by the Russian Government" present "a suitable basis" for the negotiations.

Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, also described the terms as "entirely satisfactory as a basis," and the German Government replied by inviting Russian representatives to meet German representatives behind the German lines. The momentous negotiations began on Monday, December 3rd. Trotsky announces that the German Government has agreed to open negotiations on all fronts.

According to Haase, of the German Internationalist-Socialist Party, the first condition of the Russian Socialist Government's offer of an armistice is that the Germans shall evacuate all the Russian territory that they have occupied. But the Russians go further than that; it appears that they intend to accomplish the tremendous feat of securing the withdrawal of German troops from France and Flanders also. Philips Price, in the "Manchester Guardian," quotes the "Pravda," the organ of the Bolsheviks, as saying:—

"It is in our power to prevent German troops from being sent to the west, and we will insist on this in the armistice negotiations."

If the Russians demand as a condition of the armistice that Germany shall evacuate all occupied territory, Germany will probably retaliate with the condition that the German colonies and Turkish territory occupied by the Allies shall also be evacuated! Would the Allies agree?

But if, with or without this condition, the German Government agrees during the armistice to withdraw its troops from the territory it has invaded, will the Allies still refuse to negotiate? Will the people of the Allied nations tolerate such a deliberate refusal to end the War on the just terms which Russia has laid down?

To refuse to negotiate when the other side has agreed to negotiate and when the basis of negotiation is the denial of conquest is to take a hideous responsibility. It may be suggested by way of excuse for such a refusal that the German and Austrian Governments have no intention of agreeing to the Bolshevik terms, but are seeking to hoodwink the inexperienced Russian workers. If that be their intention they will find the Bolsheviks more difficult to deal with than they imagine, as the Governments of the Allies have good reason to know.

As yet the Allied Governments have held sulkily aloof from the negotiations, and have dealt only with General Dukhonin, who had revolted against the Russian Government. The British Government keeps interned Mr. Tchitcherine, whom the Russian Socialist Government has appointed as its Ambassador in London.

Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, widely accused in Russia of intriguing to restore the Czardom, and representing a Government which deliberately refuses all information on foreign policy to the people of this country, hypocritically taunts the Russian Socialist Government as an unrepresentative body of usurpers, stating that:

"Governments, which, like his Majesty's Government, derive their powers direct from the people, cannot take a decision on a matter of such supreme importance without first assuring themselves that the decision will meet with the approval and sanction of the people."

Buchanan is playing with fire, for the Socialist Government is able to imprison him as the British Government has imprisoned Tchitcherine. The claim that the Bolshevik Government does not represent the majority of the Russian people has been made by all those who have sought to discredit it. Mr. Henderson, who, as a Labour official, ought to welcome the Russian workers' triumph, their exposure and repudiation of the disgraceful secret treaties and their courageous efforts to secure a people's peace, has declared that they are guilty of "unprecedented treachery," and that they "merit the denunciation of every working-class representative throughout the world." Scheidemann, of the German Majority Socialist Party, is a similar type to Henderson; he has been as pliant towards the German Government as Henderson has been towards the British Government. He, too, denounces the Bolsheviks, calling them "murderers" and "usurpers," and so falls into line with Count Reventlow and the other extreme German Jingoes, whose objection to the negotiations between their Government and the Russian Socialist Government is animated both by a deeply rooted antagonism to Socialism and by the desire for territorial gains. If the Bolsheviks represented no one but themselves, we should still applaud their righteous efforts for peace and Socialism, but, as a matter of fact, the partially taken elections for the Constituent Assembly already prove that they have a great and growing following amongst the people. In Petrograd they have polled a substantial majority of the votes, the figures being:—

Bolsheviks	415,587
Cadets (supporters of capitalism)	245,628
Social Revolutionaries	149,644

In Petrograd the Bolsheviks have polled a majority of 20,315 votes over both the other parties, whilst if both Socialist parties combine they will command a majority of 319,603 votes over the supporters of capitalism. The returns for other parts of Russia which are so far published here show a majority for the Bolsheviks.

It was generally stated in the British Press that the bulk of the troops was opposed to the Bolsheviks, and would refuse to support the armistice proposals, but as soon as the word was given to cease firing the truce became largely an accomplished fact. The "Daily Chronicle" of December 4th stated that the Ukrainian War Secretary (Ukraine has set up a Government of its own now) had "issued orders to the troops to refuse support to the Bolshevik peace manœuvres." In the same issue of the "Chronicle" a paragraph in small type records that "the Ukrainian soldiers have left the Russian front and gone to their homes."

The story that the soldiers support General Dukhonin, not the Socialist Government, is abruptly discredited by the fall of headquarters without fighting and the death of Dukhonin. Krylenko rightly regrets his murder, which he attributes to popular anger and fear at the escape of the dangerous counter-revolutionary, General Korniloff. But it is not for the upholders of the military system, which shoots lads of eighteen for leaving the trenches from fear or illness, and which maintains the wholesale slaughter involved in three years of War, to condemn the revolutionaries for this act.

One of the stories most industriously circulated to give courage to those who desire to see the Bolsheviks overthrown is, that though they have a following amongst the industrial workers the workers on the land, who form the majority of the Russian population, are opposed to the Bolsheviks. But the All-Russia Conference of Peasants' Deputies has now met to speak for itself, and has issued a manifesto giving enthusiastic support to the steps which the Bolshevik-Socialist Government has taken to give the land to the people, and calling on the peasantry:—

"To support with all their strength and all the means at their command, their land committees in their work of carrying out the transfer, without payment, of the lands, with their living and dead stock, to the administration of the land committees, and to defend the committees against any acts of repression or violence on the part of the representatives of the deposed Kerensky Government."

Petrograd public opinion in support of peace and Socialism has grown tremendously since the Municipal Council was elected. The Government is therefore wisely acting in the interests of democratic representation in calling new elections. The Initiative, Referendum and Recall would provide the people with the means of meeting the situation without the intervention of the Government.

We are filled with joy and hope by the great steadfastness of purpose and tremendous organising power displayed alike by the Socialist leaders of Russia and by the mass of the population. Valuable indication of the wondrous evolutionary growth now taking place in the vast nation is given by the illuminating series of articles which are appearing in the "Manchester Guardian" by Mr. Philips Price, who is investigating in Russia. He records that, though hushed up and concealed by the censorship, in 1916 there was civil war in the steppes of Asiatic Russia because the Moslem people were systematically deprived of their land and ordered to perform military duties; 500,000 Kirghiz people were massacred, and a million fled into China out of a population of 2,000,000. The Socialist Government has now to contend with the disorders created by the Czardom, the Kirghiz who fled into China are returning to find that their lands have been occupied by Russian settlers according to the deliberate policy of the Czardom. The old-standing feud cannot be wiped out all at once, but already in a growing number of districts the Russians and Moslems are settling down together, electing their joint land committees, and creating in harmony a Socialist-Communist system beneficial to all. Czarist autocracy and competitive capitalism produced misery and strife; democracy and common ownership is healing the age-long wounds. Similar difficulties confront the Revolution in regard to the Cossacks and all the other divers populations of Russia, but democracy and Socialism will eventually solve such troubles. The Tartars of the Volga provinces are creating a system of primary education, a teachers' training college and a Moslem university. They desire to bring education to their people, whom oppression has kept in ignorance. There is a movement amongst them for a cultural union with the people of the races allied to their own in Turkey, and a hope that the Tartars may be the messengers of peace between Russia and Turkey. There is a movement also for a wider union of all Moslems in an educational renaissance and political awakening in the East. They do not desire a political State or Empire, but to create a democratic movement amongst the toiling masses of Asia which will fit them to join the workers of Europe in a common brotherhood.

Inspired by the free ideals of the Revolution, a woman's movement has also sprung up amongst the Moslem women, who at the recent All-Russia Moslem Conferences succeeded in securing the adoption of resolutions against polygamy.

The basis of all this development is freedom and autonomy for all nationalities, a freedom which this War is being fought to strangle, for it is a struggle to place the Eastern races under the dominion of the Western, and to determine which group of Western Powers shall predominate in the East. The secret treaties published by the Bolsheviks should make this plain to all doubters. Study the map of Europe in connection with the plans of Russia, Britain and France for the disposal of Asiatic territory. Already Britain has in previous conquests seized Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Recently Britain and Russia seized two-thirds of Persia. The secret arrangement now would give the remaining third of unoffending Persia to Britain. Turkey in Asia would go the way of Persia; the coast of Syria would go to France; Palestine to a protectorate of the three Powers; Lower Mesopotamia to Britain; and large chunks of the northern part of Turkey in Asia to France and Russia. Italy, too, is to have territory in Asia Minor, as well as in Africa. China, without a protest from the freedom-lovers whose sons are dying on the battlefields, was parted out between America and Japan the other day. Turkey in Europe is to be altogether disintegrated and disposed of between the Allied Powers. Unless Socialism checks the present trend, the Balkan States will presently all be seized by one or other Power. The domination of alien rulers for capitalistic purposes necessarily hinders the development of the peoples.

The conscience of Lord Lansdowne appears to have been stirred at last. He may be careless of the defenceless, far-away peoples who are being sacrificed to the interests of grasping financiers, but the continued massacre of everyone's sons has perhaps carried some weight. He expresses the view that Germany is willing to join a League of Nations in a peace pact; both the German and Austrian Governments have expressed their readiness to do so. But of course, as the French Premier, M. Clemenceau, has definitely stated, the Allied nations do not desire this, the reason being that they do not wish to give Germany a share of the spoils. President Wilson, who has been given much credit for his advocacy of the League of Nations, so far from responding to Lord Lansdowne's suggestion, replies with a "knock-out blow" speech, and a declaration of war on Austria. His complaint is that Austria, Turkey and the nations of the Balkan Peninsula are under German military and commercial control. These nations must be freed "from the dictation of foreign courts or parties," says President Wilson. Rather cool that from the man who has just joined with the Japanese Government in cutting up China. We begin to ask ourselves whether American capitalists are not reaching out for territory also in Europe. Do they wish to make a glorified Coney Island out of the Austrian Tyrol, or is this not really a move in the plan to take American and Japanese troops into Russia to crush the Socialism which is causing alarm to capitalists all over the world?

Lord Lansdowne has performed a public service in writing his warning letter, but abuse by the extremist Jingoes must not delude us into thinking that his ideals are ours. He is still, as his letter proves, a believer in protective tariffs, still an upholder of capitalism. We, on the other hand, desire Socialism and a people's peace.

We can all help to awaken our fellows to the urgent need for following the lead of the Russian Socialist Government: every hour's work given to this cause may save a life! Take heart, and believe that peace is drawing near, and you can bring it nearer!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THROW OUT THE FRANCHISE BILL

The disfranchisement of conscientious objectors ought surely to be the proverbial last straw to any democratically-minded people who have hitherto hesitated to condemn the Government's Franchise Bill as unworthy to be placed on our British Statute Book in this twentieth century! We urge such people now to take their courage in both hands and call on all Members of Parliament whom they can influence to vote against the remaining stages of the Bill. We urge the Members, both of the Lords and Commons, to vote against this measure, warning them that the Bill, besides being one of the most ridiculous and unjust, is likely to be one of the least popular ever introduced. We refuse to believe that the Bill will ever be enacted.

Many other nations have flung open the franchise to all men and women without any such weighting of the scales to the advantage of the rich and the disadvantage of the poor, such as is provided by plural voting, the pauper disqualification, and registration that is not continuous.

This objectionable measure contains the following evil provisions:—

1. *For Parliamentary purposes the woman's vote is based on property; the man's is not complete adult suffrage. For Local Government purposes both the man's and woman's votes are based on property.*

2. *A woman loses her Parliamentary vote if she or her husband accepts Poor Law relief, her husband losing his Local Government and retaining his Parliamentary vote.*

3. *A woman loses her Local Government vote if she ceases to live with her husband, unless she is able to qualify separately; in most cases she is too poor.*

4. *The voting age for women is 30, though civilian men vote at 21 and soldiers and sailors at 19, and though compulsory attendance at school does not continue universally even to 14 years.*

5. *Conscientious objectors to military service are to be disfranchised.*

When at last this War, which was advertised as "a War to end war," stops, the militarists will strive to retain Conscription. If they succeed year after year the number of young conscientious objectors will grow, and these youths will all be disfranchised, so the vote against militarism will be whittled down. There could be nothing more dangerous to progress and freedom than to tolerate disfranchisement as a punishment for political convictions. If this precedent is established many of us will feel that genuine reform can only be secured by drastic changes.

REFUSAL OF OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN THE ISLE OF MAN

In the Isle of Man there are no old-age pensions. The Manx Legislature has decided to impose certain estate duties, the revenue from which is to be devoted to establishing old-age pensions. The British Treasury has vetoed the measure. The people of the island have suffered very grievously through the War; the interference with the freedom of the Manx people to establish old-age pensions is nothing short of a scandal. The British should make protests to Members of Parliament and the Government. The Manx should adopt a Sinn Fein policy of resistance to the British Treasury.

FREE DOCTORING FOR ALL?

It was announced that Dr. Addison, with a salary of £5,000 a year, was to preside over a new Ministry of Health, and that we are all to have free medical attention as a result. We thought this was too good a proposal for this Government. Next day the report was denied.

THE RAILWAY DISPUTE

The railwaymen have agreed to accept an advance of 6s. a week for themselves with 3s. a week increase for women and boys. The railwaymen started out with the wise and just demand for equal pay for men and women, but unfortunately this original demand is not being maintained.

THE ENGINEERS' STRIKE

The standpoint of the old-fashioned Trade Unionist is revealed by the answers made by the Dewsbury Trades Council to a Royal Commission of Inquiry into Trades Unions which sat in the eighteen sixties. The Dewsbury Trades Council was of opinion that "Trades Unions have tended materially to facilitate and improve the dealings and relations between workmen and their employers," and that the policy of the Trade Unions "has tended to improve the condition of the workmen and . . . has been to the interests of employers and the trade generally." Thus spake the Trade Unionism of the past; the coming Trade Unionism demands the industry for the workers in the industry and the abolition of the employer. As the objects of Trade Unionism are changing its internal mechanism must also change. The day of the old-fashioned Labour leader who was emancipated from the ranks of the workers and too often easily lost his sense of class solidarity with them, is passing and his place is being taken by the shop stewards, who remain at the bench and who are the elected delegates of those who work beside them. The Coventry strike involving 50,000 men and women broke out because the employers refused to recognise the shop stewards. "The Times" declared the strike to be "murder," asking the workers "to say flatly whether their strike is worth the price the nation must pay for it." The strikers might well have asked "The Times" to put the same question to the employers. The shop steward movement is irresistible, and the employers have been obliged to negotiate, whilst a similar situation has arisen in the Birmingham district, where 150,000 workers are involved.

PRO-GERMAN OR PRO-POCKET

Those who believe that for the nation's sake the War should be ended and try to convert others to that view are raided, harassed, and imprisoned. The action of the Provincial Cinematograph Exhibitors' Federation in declining to show any of the Government's War aims films till the cinema tax is repealed, is received as a legitimate means of protecting trade interests.

Women Bring Down Milk Prices

At Padiham, in Lancashire, recently the milk price was 6½d. a quart. The price in Nelson was 5½d. Padiham women struck work at the cotton factories, and met the farmers' milk carts. As each man drove in, they asked the price of milk, and when the answer was more than 5½d. they led the horse to the Food Controller's. So the price of milk was brought down to 5½d. But one woman drove into Padiham, and when she was asked the price of her milk, she said, "Fourpence ha'penny a quart; it won't be any more, for I can make a good profit at that price." Padiham women should adopt the same method of reducing the price to 4½d. But why should the movement stop at Padiham? And why not eliminate private profit altogether?

WHY PAY MORE?

The "Bakers' Record" tells of bread being sold at Fulham, Clapton and Islington for 8d. a quartern loaf, and for 7d. and 8d. at Wembley. Why, then, should any bread cost more?

W.S.F. PEACE PICKETS

Mrs. Brimley and Miss Tollemache picketed Dr. Horton's chapel with peace banners on Sunday. They were congratulated by several sympathisers, but a soldier snatched Mrs. Brimley's banner away and tore it into shreds. A man followed Mrs. Brimley away; she asked him why he was following her; he said, "To give you in charge when we meet a policeman." Mrs. Brimley then asked him to come with her to a police-station, where she gave in her name and address as one who had been displaying a peace banner, informing her tormentor that she was not afraid, and that she had as much right to her opinions as he had to his. The brave women who have carried out this picketing week by week are performing a public service. We want more volunteers.

* * * *

The Government proposes to turn cotton mills into aircraft factories. So an interest which might begin to cry "Peace" is to be bought off.

* * * *

"Does it occur to you that by the time England is through with the emancipation of all the oppressed peoples, with the trifling exception of the oppressed people of Lambeth, Shoreditch, Ancoats, the slums of Liverpool, and so forth, her own affairs may have fallen into some confusion?"—Bernard Shaw, interviewed by the "Sunday Observer."

THE "APAPA"

We tender our sympathy to the relatives of those who were drowned in the torpedoed steamer "Apapa." We urge them to join with us in agitating for an early peace in order that no more lives may be thus sacrificed.

KENSAL RISE W.S.F.

All friends in Kensal Rise, Paddington, North Kensington and Bayswater are urged to join this newly-formed branch. The cause can only be won by organisation and hard work. Hon. Secretary, Mrs. F. Edwards, 30 Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise. Meetings held on alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m. in Co-operative Guild Room, 21 Station Road, Kensal Rise.

TO YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The Young Socialist Club, 420 Commercial Road, E.1, wishes to enlarge its membership. It would welcome new members of either sex between twelve and fourteen years of age.

"SATIRE"

Scotland Yard, not content with breaking into the locked publishing offices of "Satire," on November 30th, entered the private dwelling of the Editor ten minutes after he had left and took, among other things, copies of "Satire," blocks, office books, MSS., cyclostyle, correspondence, a typewriter, a picture or two from the walls, and £8! The police who raided the Peace Negotiations Committee's Office and Miss Wilson Wilson's office, also took money away in each case. Does the Government countenance such robbery?

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

November 27th.—Mr. King (L.) pointed out that the French law holds that it is against humanity and family affection to deprive a man of the protection of his mother or his wife's shelter. He advocated similar leniency in this country in regard to deserters. Mr. Brace could do nothing but defend the British method of prosecuting those who harbour deserters, without taking family ties into account.

CENSORSHIP AND MATCHES.

November 28th.—Commander Wedgwood (L.) again returned to the attack on the Government about "Young India." He stated that every member of the House and Mr. Montagu had been sent a copy of the book on publication, yet the Government only seized it two months afterwards, when Mr. Montagu was on the high seas.

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) protested against the raid on the No-Conscription Fellowship, when such things as the lists of delegates of trade unions were taken, thus interfering with trade union work; he also stated that a private bag had been broken open and four boxes of matches stolen by the police! Sir G. Cave reaffirmed his statement about Regulation 27c not applying to any leaflets issued by or under the authority of the Government.

SWISS CONFERENCE.

Mr. Outhwaite (L.) and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald brought to the notice of Lord R. Cecil that the present Russian Government has issued a State document revealing the fact that a director of a British bank was present at a conference of financiers held in Berne on September 7th. Lord R. Cecil again protested that no information could be procured about the said conference!

FOOD DEBATE.

Mr. Anderson (Lab.) asked for a day to consider the food question. Mr. Bonar Law objected at the moment, but we are glad to see that Mr. Anderson has since gained his point. All those who can be helpful in any way by suggestions or exposing grievances should communicate with their Members of Parliament, and thus make the voice of the people heard.

NO FRENCH EXAMPLE.

The fact that the French Government has issued instructions authorising one of the members of the court to be a private when a private is being court-martialled was pointed out by Mr. Outhwaite (L). Mr. Macpherson, however, argued that legislation would be necessary for such a change here, and, further, avowed his satisfaction with the present system here. It seems we can only imitate the arbitrary methods of the Prussian, the democratic example of the French can find no echo here.

WAGES.

Mr. Churchill announced that the 12½ per cent. increase to munition workers on time work was necessary owing to the abolition of the leaving certificate! It affects about 900,000 men, at an ultimate cost of about £14,000,000. So far good; but where do the women come in?

SECRET TREATIES.

November 29th.—Referring to the secret agreements now being published in Russia, Lord R. Cecil said: "Some of them may be authentic and some not." How illuminating! It is practically an admission of guilt.

CENSORSHIP.

Sir G. Cave announced that there is no question of rescinding the regulation on the leaflet question.

* * * *

Mr. Chancellor (L.) drew attention to the incitements to rioting published in such papers as the "Daily Express," the "Weekly Dispatch," and the "Daily Mail." Sir George Cave said he had never seen such articles; but also showed that he had no inclination to take any action against them.

THE FRANCHISE.

On November 28th and 29th the Representation of the People Bill was further discussed. The alternative vote was again the subject of much futile discussion. The decisive topics which may either mar or scrap the Bill altogether, such as redistribution in Ireland, the C.O. disfranchisement and duration of same, are being discussed as we go to press.

* * * *

December 3rd.—Sir G. Cave stated that the new Regulation 27C does not apply to newspapers and periodicals which were in existence when the Regulation was made.

SUGAR ORDER.

A shoal of questions was put to Mr. Clynes on the subject of the new sugar cards. His explanation for stating the age of applicant on the card was vague. Of course, we know that means industrial conscription!

LORD LANSDOWNE.

No prosecution either of Lord Lansdowne or the "Daily Telegraph" is to take place. Yet the letter may not be reproduced in leaflet form!

LONG HOURS.

Sir G. Cave could give Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck (U.) no guarantee that the shifts worked in munition factories would be reduced. He admitted having received proofs of shortened hours having given an improved result.

NON-FERROUS METAL INDUSTRY BILL.

Sir Albert Stanley introduced a Bill giving power to control the metal trade now and for five years after the War. The reason given was that when War broke out there was a shortage of metal here owing to German control. To prevent Germans having any chance of regaining such a monopoly this funk legislation is being introduced. Strict laws will ensure that no German, not even a naturalised one can obtain a license. The House rose before it had consented to a second reading. Mr. J. M. Henderson and others condemned this attempt to carry on an economic war after the War. He pointed out that now no one could get a license because all metals were controlled for War purposes, therefore the intention was to boycott Germany after the War. It would be very bad to make such legislation now, since the peace issues would be injured by such apparent jealousy. To quote Commander Wedgwood, "Piece of Spite." It does seem strange that Britishers are not prepared to stand or fall by their own ability and not by protective legislation. We want more internationalisation not less!

COAL MINES CONTROL.

The Committee stage of the Coal Mines Control Bill was taken on November 27th and December 3rd. Much the same wrangling about profits went on as on the second reading. Mr. Adamson (Lab.) really went to the root of the objection to the Bill. "It does not go far enough, I want nationalisation." We second his wish, but must add not on the same basis as control and nationalisation have been carried on during the War.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF RIGHTS A CONCERT AND DANCE

On behalf of the above will be held at the W.S.F. HALL, 400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.3, on SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th, 1917.

The Concert will be given by the Paddington (No. 2) N.U.R. Concert Party.

Commence 6.30 p.m. M.C.: A. A. WATTS

Tickets (including Tax) EIGHTPENCE.

Refreshments at popular prices.

International Young Age Pensions

Dear Friends of Humanity,—Before the storm bursts let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from the Government now before it may be too late.—Yours truly,

A CHILD LOVER.

WHATS' ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUTDOOR

GREAT PUSH FOR PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th.
Lewisham Market Place, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m., Miss Price.
Hoxton, 11.45 a.m., Mr. L. Hogben.
Cannon Street Road, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

INDOOR

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th.
Fabian Hall, 25 Tothill Street, S.W., 3 p.m., At Home. Speaker, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N., Social, 8-11 p.m.
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th.
Bow Women's Hall, 5 p.m., General Meeting (London Section). Business: "Old Cockney Fair."
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12th.
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 8 p.m., Speakers' Class.
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13th.
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 3.30 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook"; Mrs. Clara Cole, "Flashlights of the War."

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Special meeting at Kingsley Hall, Sunday, 9th, at 8.15 p.m. "Dedication of Infants," Stanley James; "A Tolstoy Story," Lily Mortimer.
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11th.
Walthamstow League of Rights.—William Morris Hall, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Sizer and others.

FEDERATION NOTES

MANCHESTER W.S.F.

The Manchester W.S.F. held a well-attended meeting in the Onward Hall, Manchester, on Saturday, December 1st, which was addressed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. Caney being in the chair. Several new members were made. Hon. Secretary, Miss Wassilevsky, 18 Broughton Street, Manchester.

NELSON W.S.F.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst spoke at a meeting of upwards of 600 persons held by the Nelson W.S.F. in the I.L.P. Hall. Resolutions were unanimously carried calling on the Government to accept the Russian armistice proposal, and calling on the Nelson Town Council to send a deputation to Westminster to urge this course upon the Government. A resolution was also passed unanimously, demanding the rejection of the Franchise Bill and the substitution of a complete adult suffrage measure. A further unanimous resolution urged that the British housing problem should be solved as the Russian Bolsheviks have solved it, by giving municipalities power to commandeer empty houses and to instal in them those who are living in insanitary and overcrowded dwellings. Hon. Secretary, Miss Kershaw, 370 Railway Street, Nelson.

HULL AND LEEDS W.S.F.

Mrs. Bouvier has been addressing meetings organised by these branches during the week-end. Hon. Secretaries, Miss Kent, 16 Ellesmere Avenue, Holderness Road, Hull, and Miss Ethel Lewis, 23 Blundell Street, Leeds.

BRYNMAER AND NANTYGLO W.S.F.

This branch is affiliated to the local L.R.C., and has applied for representation on the local Food Control Committee. The committee asked Lord Rhondda's permission to co-opt more members, but he refused permission! The W.S.F. branch is sending a deputation to the schools to investigate underfeeding amongst the children, as many colliers in the district are only employed on half-time. Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Hayward, Brynhyfryd, Coedcae, Nantyglo, Mon.

Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—Mrs. M. B. H. Ellis, £5; Lower Duffryn Lodge, S.W.M. Fed., £2 2s.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; A. J. Marriott, Es., 3s. 9d.; Mrs. M. L. Bull, 2s. 6d.; Miss Helen Lindsay, 2s.; Mr. A. Gaubert, 1s.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Mrs. Ella E. Palmer, 10s.; Mrs. Brimley, 9s. 6d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Leeds W.S.F. (profit from Whist Drive), 10s.; G. Walton, 9s.; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 3s. 9d.; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Dawson Clark, 2s.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), £2 15s. 7d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Miss I. V. Yeoman (10s. weekly), £8; Anon, Birmingham, £4; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), £3 10s.; Miss Florence Robarts, £2; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; per Miss J. E. Weir (monthly), £1; Miss Burroughs, £1; Mr. Maurice Liverman, 10s. 6d.; Miss L. Violet Hodgkin, 10s. 6d.; Miss Ione Levy, 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, 5s.; Mrs. E. M. Morrison (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Leon, 3s. 6d.; Miss E. Crabb (monthly), 3s. 6d.; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Fisher, 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Miss A. Udny (two-months), £3 2s. 4d.; L.S.A. Toolroom, £2 3s. 1d.; Misses E. and K. Lagsding, J. Watts and Mrs. Bertram (Green's Yard and Cubitt Town), 15s. 10d.; Mrs. Casey (Churn), 9s. 3½d.; Misses Dell, 5s.; Mrs. Pascoe (farthings), 2s. 6d.; Miss Molly Newman, 2s.

CLOTHES, Etc.—Mrs. Watt, Mrs. Boswell, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Trevelyan, and Mrs. Robertson.

FRUIT.—Mrs. Napier.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.—Mrs. Parry, 10s.; Mrs. Naftell, 10s.; Mr. F. W. Shorrocks, 4s.; Miss Ada Woolley, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Hooper, 1s.

GARMENTS.—Mrs. Burke, Mrs. Buckley, Mrs. Whitwell, Miss Richardson, Miss Barker, Mrs. Cole, Mrs. Lauritzen.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.—Mr. and Mrs. Bracher, Mrs. Dobell, Miss Catherine Marshall, "W. I. L.," Mrs. Whitwell.

VEGETABLES AND FRUIT.—Mrs. Burke.

TOYS, SWEETS AND SCENTED SOAP.—Mrs. Whitwell, W. F. Moss, Esq., Mrs. Cole, Mrs. Pascoe.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOM with attendance; 5s. a week; Central London.—Apply, Box 400.

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Fruit, Vegetables, and Flowers—Mrs. Pascoe.
Toys—Mrs. Hercbergova.
Curios & Jewellery—Mrs. Casey.
Children's Garments—The Mothers' Arms helpers.
New Garments—Poplar Branch.
Second-hand Garments—Mrs. Payne.
Books, New and Second-hand—Miss Macdonald.
Fancy Goods—
Novelty Stall—Miss Di Benningfield.
Grocery—Mrs. Crabb.
Tobacco—
Pottery—Mrs. Wood.
Hats—Miss Horsfall.
Bran Pie—
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¶ Friday at 8 p.m. and Saturday at 5 p.m. the Children from Bow in Miles Malleson's Fairy Play "Paddly Pools" and "Cock Robin."

¶ CONCERT, Saturday 15th, 8 p.m., M. Edouard Soermus (Violinist); Russian Dances, Songs, Miss Irene Bouvier, Mr. Grishin.

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